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CONGRESS FACING FAMILIAR AGENDA

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WASHINGTON, April 27 — Congress is looking forward to a familiar agenda in the days ahead after the most turbulent week of the current session, marked by a series of unaccustomed legislative rebuffs to President Reagan.

Despite a flurry of all-night sessions, White House meetings and Presidential exhortations, Congress failed to make any decisions on the major issues it grappled with in the week: the Federal budget and aid to the anti-Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua.

The Senate, in fact, failed even to take a vote on the budget after Senator Bob Dole of Kansas, the majority leader, admitted that he lacked a majority for the plan that had been worked out between the White House and Republican senators. But he warned his colleagues that a rocky road was ahead of them on the budget issue.

"If it takes a month to turn it around, we'll take a month," he said.

Last-Minute Plea Rejected

The Senate did vote on the President's proposal to send \$14 million in nonmilitary aid to the Nicaraguan rebels. But while the bill passed 53 to 46, it was the narrowest margin ever to support the President's Nicaraguan strategy, and nine Republicans rejected a last-minute plea by letter from Mr. Reagan asking for their support.

The House tentatively approved a plan proposed by moderate Democrats that would have subsidized refugees and peacekeeping forces in Central America, but not the rebels themselves. Then liberal and conservatives forces joined to bury the bill altogether on a surprising 303-to-123 vote.

"Congress really fumbled the ball on this one," Mr. Dole said today.

The issue will probably return next week, however, as the House Select Committee on Intelligence takes up its budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 and considers Mr. Reagan's expanded request for \$28 million in aid to the rebels, known as contras.

In addition, the House has scheduled floor action on two bills, the State Department authorization and foreign aid legislation, that could provide a vehicle for amendments on the contra question.

There is a consensus on Capitol Hill that Congress will not resume any military aid to the rebels, but a growing number of lawmakers want the Administration to explore more aggressive economic and diplomatic methods of applying pressure on the Nicaraguan Government.

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"I think it's a great mistake to end up with nothing," said Representative James R. Jones, Democrat of Oklahoma. "We need to find a way to keep the pressure on the Sandinistas and fund humanitarian assistance for the refugees."

Mistrust and Partisanship

But to lawmakers in both parties, the week's events revealed a growing sense of mistrust and partisanship on Capitol Hill that could undermine all efforts at compromise.

In the House, the level of partisanship is likely to rise next week. The lawmakers are scheduled to take up the contentious question of who won the election in Indiana's Eighth District.

The Democrats say that their candidate, Representative Frank McCloskey, won a recount by four votes over Rick McIntyre, the Republican candidate, and that they intend to seat him. The Republicans say that the recount was flawed and a special election should be called.

The Republicans have vowed to pursue an all-out guerrilla war if Mr. McCloskey is seated, and they started last week with a series of delaying tactics. Party leaders such as Representative Jack F. Kemp of upstate New York, the Republican conference chairman, concede "there's definitely a possible price" to be paid for such tactics. If the House bogs down, it is the President's program that will suffer, he said.

The week's events also indicated a different legislative role for Mr. Reagan than he has played in the past. Lawmakers are still afraid of him and his ability to communicate with the public.

But when Mr. Reagan went on television, and made a national appeal for his budget plan, the public response fell far below what Mr. Reagan was able to generate in 1981. Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, reported receiving only about 500 calls, and they were split almost equally for and against the plan.

Reagan Makes Radio Appeal

In his weekly radio address today, Mr. Reagan repeated his exhortation to voters to ask their representatives to approve the budget compromise. He said, "It is a balanced effort of holding down the cost of defense and domestic programs, while cutting from the Federal budget nonessential programs that are wasteful, inefficient and, in more than a few places, should never have been financed with your tax dollars in the first place."

It had been clear from the early maneuvering on the budget that Mr. Reagan was facing a far more wary Congress than he did in the heady days of his first term. Many lawmakers, including Republicans, perceive that their own political interests are not necessarily the same as a President who does not have to run again.

It is going to be very difficult, for instance, for the Republican leadership to win the vote of Senator D'Amato for a budget package that eliminates operating subsidies for mass transit, a critical issue in New York City.